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The fronds of the babassu or of the anajá palm furnish thatch for the roofs; such walls as there are are of the same material, which is tied to the posts and, if need be, to supplementary intermediate poles. The parts of the structure are tied together with vines. All the palm thatch is used with the rib of the leaf in horizontal position and with unilaterally dependent leaflets. The ridge is covered with longitudinally laid palm fronds held down by a number of angle-shaped pieces of wood hooked together in pairs.

A complete house is walled on all four sides, but sometimes the front wall is partly or wholly missing; or only one half of the house forms a sort of closed room. But the door always faces the long side turned toward the plaza. This front door usually has for a counterpart an entrance in the rear wall. The houses of Ponto, without an exception, conform to this type (pl. 1, *b*); not a single one has the door in the gable wall, as has been alleged.[137] This form does occur fairly often, however, among the Krahõ'.

None of the Canella houses has windows, but these are also lacking in many Neobrazilian homes. The entrance is generally barred by a transversely set old racing log which must be cleared, its purpose being to exclude the freely roaming domestic pigs. At night and when all inmates are away the door is closed, meagerly enough, with a mat of palm thatch placed or hung in front of it. The men erect the houses in which they live, but the women own them.

The dwellings of the families of the vụ'tẹ' girls, where the age classes assemble and are entertained during the ceremonial period of the year, are put up by the two youngest age classes. The class localized on the west side of the plaza erects the home of the vụ'tẹ' associated with the east, and vice versa.

The youngest age classes also put up a house for the wife of a Canella who has journeyed to the capital in the tribal interest. Anyone desiring the aid of these age classes applies to the councilors, who then transmit the request to the commandants of the classes (p. 93). These units receive no compensation beyond their meals; they always turn up accompanied by their female age-mates, who dance with them and help prepare the food. In one case I saw both matrilineal and patrilineal relatives work at the construction of a house for the woman owning it. In other instances only the residents took part in the building.

Immediately beside or behind the house, more rarely in front, there are usually several urucú bushes; sometimes one may also see there a pepper shrub, a mango, lemon, or orange tree, the last three of these representing additions from the Neobrazilians.

A feature comparatively common among the Krahõ', but rare among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, is a scaffold of poles close beside or behind the house. On this stage, always too high to be reached by dogs and pigs, all sorts of objects can be dried in the sun, notably manioc paste, but also gourd vessels, arrow cane, meat, and the like.

The settlements of the other Eastern Timbira present a far less cleanly and orderly appearance. The two Kenpókateye-Krahõ' villages—Pedra Branca (pl. 1, *a*) and Pedra Furada—do not even remotely approach Ponto in this respect. Their huts are smaller, less carefully built, and for the most part lack hip roofs. The Apạ'nyekra aldea, Porquinhos, shows marked deterioration with its twelve small and mostly tumbledown huts. Brush covers the plaza, where a small, poor rancho serves as an hostelry for Neobrazilian travelers, an institution I have never seen among other Timbira groups; and the roads are overgrown with weeds. The settle-

[137] Sampaio and Magalhães Corrêa, Nota sobre habitat rudimentar, Est. II.

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Branca (pl. 1, *a*) the Krahõ' had a similar hut, which stood about three hundred meters behind the circle of houses.

Several Indians engaged in pig breeding had erected well-built roofs 2 m. square under which the beasts could sleep in bad weather if they so chose; they were not forcibly enclosed there. The tame taitetú pigs always used for ceremonial slaughter at certain festivities are kept in cages 1 m. high, which the owners generally put up in front of their houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. A cage consists of upright poles roofed with palm fronds.

The few Indians who raise fowls keep them behind the dwelling in little gable roofs resting directly on the ground and constructed of poles, pieces of bark, and old mats. At night they are barred with pieces of wood. The structure, like the poultry itself, was borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

The exceptional little stall for strangers which the Apą'nyekra put up in Porquinhos has been mentioned (p. 40). No Timbira tribe has a men's or bachelors' house corresponding to the warã of the Akwẽ-Šerénte.[28] Meetings are held in the plaza outdoors, which is also the general sleeping place of the young men.

Away from the village the Rąmkõ'kamekra, so far as they require any form of shelter, erect the following forms of hut. If the cultivated plots are far away, a hut is put up for the period that requires the owners' presence. Such a structure is not erected in the plantation itself, but in the steppe in front of the *galeria* forest. Usually it is rectangular and gable-roofed, smaller and less massive than the fixed dwellings. However, occasionally the old beehive type (ikré yiróno) occurs—a hemispherical form about 1.80 m. in height inside. The framework consists of eight or more thin trunks stuck into the ground in a circle and bent together at the top, the branches being interlaced into walls, or—rarely—tied together. There are no special horizontal hoops. This skeleton is covered round about with palm fronds, their tips up, their ribs in vertical position; other fronds are laid on top crisscross. This shelter, if carefully set up, is altogether rainproof except for some leakage at the bottom. On one side there is left an entrance 1½ m. in height.

Similar, but as a rule less carefully built, are the huts of temporary encampments, such as all the steppe Timbira erect when large companies of them are hunting or away for some special task. In that case the arrangement of the huts is uniformly circular, all doors facing the center, and the female owners observe the same order that prevails in the village. These huts are made exclusively by the women; even men who camp beyond the settlement without their families never erect such structures (pl. 7, *a*).

The question now arises: Did the Timbira originally have only such beehive huts or did they have larger, substantial dwellings in their fixed villages? Several facts support the latter alternative. The beehive huts cannot accommodate either the regular platform beds or the elevated compartments of the young girls, or an extended family. Further, it would be impossible to shelter the boys in a single house on the east or west side during the first stage of initiation, for even in 1930 there were twice sixteen novices among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, and the number was doubtless larger in former times. It would be equally impossible to put up a special cell in a beehive hut for one or more boys at the terminal phase of initiation. Moreover, a beehive hut could not serve as the meeting place of any of the festive societies, with their membership ranging from 15 to 30; and to an even greater extent does the vų'tę' institution (p. 92) require large houses, for in 1933 the number of men who assembled was 54 and 57, respectively. I am convinced that if all these cere-

[28] Nimuendajú and Lowie, 408.

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monials had formerly been held outdoors or in specially erected structures, the usage would have survived in at least the majority of the cases. On the other hand, the localization of the ceremonies in definite houses of the village circumference indicates that they have taken place there since ancient times. However, it is impossible to determine at present what form these houses originally had. Nowadays the Indians assert that they always had the same shape as today, which is certainly contrary to fact.

Besides the rectangular gable-roofed and the beehive types, the Eastern Timbira employ a number of simpler types of shelter. There are oblique wind screens of palm fronds set against a pole placed horizontally in the branches of two neighboring trees or resting on forked posts. Instead the leaves may be set into the ground in a semicircle, yielding a semiconical wind screen, such as Snethlage observed and as I have several times seen as the first shelter on a house site within a newly laid out village. Rectangular frames resting horizontally at a man's height on forked posts and covered with a few transverse poles and fronds are seen only at festivals on the open steppe; they share the name of the windscreen, ikrépo. Neobrazilians, too, always put them up beside their houses during a celebration. They are sunshades which afford no protection from rain.

Single travelers obliged to spend the night outdoors or surprised by a storm en route cover the top of a bush with branches and palm fronds for a shelter. Or they fasten together the fronds of two appropriately distant paty palm shrubs without cutting them off and thus form a sort of sentry box. During prolonged ceremonies in the plaza the spectators often make mats into sunshades by leaning them against any prop planted into the ground, such as a bow or sword club, or against their own backs.

Finally, at the east end of the Serra do Noquem, eighteen kilometers south of the Krahõ′ village of Pedra Branca, I saw a cave which these Indians occasionally used as a shelter and there were fireplaces at the entrance.

Dress and Adornment

Formerly both sexes in all Timbira groups were completely unclothed. For the most part the men still go naked. In such villages as Ponto, through which Neobrazilians frequently pass, the Indians generally keep at hand a piece of cloth the size of a handkerchief, which they thrust in front of their girdles when obliged to meet civilized folk to whom they consider this concession necessary. With the visitor's departure, however, the cloth is promptly removed, twisted together and tied round the forehead, the upper arm, the handle of a club, or the end of a bow.

Pụkóbye girls still go stark naked until puberty. In other tribes the majority when about six years old, though some not before the tenth year, begin to cover the hips with a piece of cloth extending approximately to the knees and knotted or turned down at the left hip (pl. 3, *b*). Among the Krahõ′ some wear only a small strip like the men's. Except at dances, Rąmkõ′kamekra women or young girls rarely appear without this garment nowadays, but when by themselves they frequently remove it. The men inveigh against this offensive but growing feminine custom of constantly wearing a loincloth. During one dance I saw the chiefs summon a man and order him to remove the loincloths of all women performers, who offered not the least resistance.

Such appurtenances of civilization as trousers, shirts, and skirts appear most frequently among the Kre′pụ′mkateye and the Timbira of Araparytiua.

At present a number of Rąmkõ′kamekra men constantly wear a leather belt with

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and eaten. This ceremony is common to the terminal ritual of both initiation phases as well as of the pepkahą'k.

Before daybreak the ketúaye went bathing, then ran along the boulevard, whereupon they and several men of the western age classes marched before the house of Hąktokót, the peccary's owner. As soon as the ketúaye appeared, the women of the house burst into loud crying, but presently tied a cord round the beast's neck, handing its end to one of the men, who stepped up to the door. He led the animal outside, where it was clubbed to death while the women were wailing despondently. The women stepped up to the carcass and continued crying for a while, then it was transported to a deserted village site three kilometers downstream from the settlement. There a sunshade for the ketúaye and a windbreak for the prókama had already been prepared, the former composed of a big foliage-covered horizontal lattice of poles above a man's height. Such arbors (*latadas*) are also used at Neobrazilian festivities.

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New groups were constantly arriving until the whole population had assembled. The flesh of the peccary was partly cooked in an iron pot, partly used for meat pies, but the ketúaye received none of it, being fed with inferior victuals. The prókama were the first to be served, among them myself, for whom a hammock of interlaced burity leaves had been considerately stretched under the windbreak. There we spent the time eating and storytelling.

In the meantime the ketúaye, accompanied by several young girls, went to prepare a pair of racing logs, while the women made a huge earth oven in the camp, in which fourteen pies were steamed. Then these were distributed; the ketúaye got their share, but instead of consuming it they passed it on to their kin. Finally came the kapranpotíkama class, likewise accompanied by a bevy of young girls. They are the opponents of the ketúaye and camp opposite them on the east side of the plaza. Apparently this association of younger people of both sexes had led to sundry love affairs; at all events, several of these kapranpotí were in exuberant spirits and unable to restrain their loquacity.

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Two pairs of logs had been made and laid down beside each other in couples on the road outside the camp. The anterior, lighter pair, whose weight was once more checked by experts, was for the girls. The men and the girls then danced, each group behind their appropriate pair of logs, raising their arms and clapping hands. Then the two girls' teams first seized their logs and rushed off toward the village. The men allowed them a start, but overtook them and got to the village plaza ahead of them. However, the girls did not lag behind excessively. The course was relatively short—three kilometers—but annoyingly hilly and sandy.

In the plaza a fire was burning, round which the ketúaye and kapranpotíkama performed a wild dance; at the same time the girls grouped by threes and fours formed a broken circle round them, dancing and singing in their customary manner, and the other men stood about still farther off. At sunset this dance was followed by the plaza dance of lads and lasses customary about this hour; and this in turn was succeeded by a girls' log race around the boulevard and a men's race, by couples, from one vụ'tẹ''s house to the other's, across the plaza. In the meantime the ketúaye and the rópkama, who likewise belong to the western team, marched along the boulevard in single file from house to house. As a member of the latter age class I joined in. As soon as one of us got to the front of his mother's dwelling, his kinswomen gave him some object toward payment for the pig slain. I noted cloth, mirrors, spoons, knives, two iron pots, and other articles. Finally, everyone in the column had some object in his hands, and thus we moved to the house of the peccary

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rapid succession lowering the two horns one after another, a Mummer deftly jumps over the threshold of the door, which as a rule does not exceed 1.70 to 1.80 m. in height.

For the food received the members who have killed game during a hunt—where of course they are not masked—bring their "mothers" some of the flesh impaled on the horn. Ihōkē'n is in the habit of sitting down by the fire of a house, fanning it into a blaze, and occupying himself with whatever food is in process of preparation, but without stealing any.

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At night some of the kōkrį't indulge in the pastime of dragging a village wanton under their costumes, which easily accommodate a couple, and then the two disappear in the dark.

It has happened that the Jaguars borrowed the kōkrį't masks for a day in order to amuse themselves. In that case the Jaguars previously arrange a hunting trip and turn over the kill to the Mummers, who distribute it among themselves.

Throughout the festive period the Mummers from time to time make a pair of logs and race against the Agoutis.

Hunt.—When the entertainments of the kōkrį't and the collaborating organizations have spread over a sufficient period and the close of the vụ'tẹ́ season is in sight, the council decides to inaugurate the terminal celebration. Thereupon the Mummers and the Jaguars go hunting for the western, and the Agoutis for the eastern vụ'tẹ́. This requires one or two weeks' time. Returning from their trip, the hunters send a kinsman of the vụ'tẹ́ ahead, so that he may ask the women in the village to prepare stones and firewood for the earth ovens. On the other hand, the vụ'tẹ́'s brother walks toward the hunters with a gift consisting of a confection from manioc, sweet potato, or manioc flour. The hunters camp overnight near the village and formally enter it on the following morning, preceded by an old man who sings the names of the animals bagged. A councilor goes to meet the arriving hunters and selects part of the kill for himself and his colleagues. Then the Mummers and the Jaguars march with their spoils into the house of the western vụ'tẹ́, and the Agoutis similarly enter the eastern vụ'tẹ́'s house. The Mummers put on their masks and disport themselves on the several roads.

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Close.—On the day before the final solemnity the Agoutis construct the framework of poles for a little round hut 2 m. in diameter and 1 ½-m. in height. It is put up about 5 m. in front of the western vụ'tẹ́'s door, where the Jaguars assemble, and remains without a covering of palm leaves. In the center of this hut there is a post of pau pombo wood 5 m. in height and 10 cm. in thickness; towering far above the hut, it terminates in a fork, to which a liana (Cipó mucuña) 3 cm. in thickness is carefully tied so that it hangs down to the roof of the pole framework.

In the afternoon the Agoutis fetch the down-bedecked Little Falcon from the Jaguars' lodge and march around the boulevard yelling and leaping around him and simultaneously trying to pluck off the glued-on feathers, while the Little Falcon's pinčwẹ'i try to protect him. Every time they pass the Jaguars' lodge the Little Falcon mounts the roof of the little hut and "flies." That is, he seizes the liana with both hands, swings off the roof with a leap on the principle of the giant's stride, clinging to the creeper, lands again, swings off to the other side, and so forth. At last he disappears in the Jaguars' lodge.

On the next day the kōkrį't as well as the vụ'tẹ́ season closes with the erection of the trough-shaped kōkré log before one vụ'tẹ́'s house (p. 167).

In the morning of the same day large meat pies prepared from the hunters' kill are baking in huge earth ovens. Then the Mummers, who on this occasion don their

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Suddenly out of the Clown lodge stepped an old man, ridiculously made up, accompanied by a young lad and a boy who were carrying grass pouches hung from their bodies. The old man was carrying the "fishing rod" and simulated walking along the edge of some body of water harboring fish. He pretended to look for a favorable place to throw his line, but encountered all manner of mishaps. First, a tocandira ant stung him so as to make him hop on one leg screaming, then he suddenly bumped his head against a wasp's nest hanging from the branch of a tree and was naturally attacked by its inmates, whereupon he burnt up the nest. All this was done so realistically that all the spectators at once understood the intended meaning, even though there were no signs of water, wasps, or fire. When he had with comical gratification ascertained the Fishes' presence, he went to the radial path leading to his company's lodge and whistled. The Clowns answered from within, but the old man looked about in amazement in all directions, finally declaring that apparently some one in the sky had answered. Then the Clowns came out of their lodge with all sorts of absurd decoration and implements, marched to the plaza, surrounded the Fishes, pretending to throw lines, and carried on their antics in other ways.[*]

Suddenly Chief Hąktõkót, representing the "old Fish Otter," ran yelling toward the Fish, whereupon the Fish Otter company, numbering some twenty men, separated from the rest and took positions on the east side of the plaza. Simultaneously the Fish societies proper gathered on the west. The Clowns picked up the victuals remaining in the center and betook themselves to their appropriate place on the north of the plaza, where they distributed and ate them. But while still en route the old Clown was "bitten by a snake" and wallowed on the ground with pain; two other Clowns approached, pretending to treat him, and sucked out of his sore foot string that was some meters in length!

On the following day the seven huts of the companies participating in the tepyarkwá were put up in the proper sites at the periphery of the plaza. They were small rectangular gable huts except for that of the Fish Otters, which was a conical framework of poles, and 6 m. high (pl. 42). At the center post (tẽ'rekuičwę'i-yapírčą, Fish Otter girl's ladder) a number of tree forks had been allowed to remain so as to permit the girl (there is only one in this company) to climb up—not to serve as a lookout, as I had once conjectured, but to save herself during the impending attack on the hut by the other Fish companies. The Clowns' hut, like everything pertaining to this organization, was crooked and poorly fashioned; on the gable side an old frayed basket was set flaglike on a crooked pole. Nor did the Clowns scruple to burn down their hut on occasion from sheer mischief and to put up another that was still worse-looking in its place.

[*] An earlier field trip by the author resulted in the following observations: Then the Fish chief and his retinue begin to make a pattering noise in their lodge, whereupon they move out to the boulevard and gather food from their mothers' maternal homes, while the Suruby holds a sweet potato between his teeth. The crier and the girl walk ahead to scout for food. When a collection has been made along the circuit, they march with it to the plaza, circle around it and take up positions in the center of the plaza. Soon the Clown headman comes with a gigantic bow "to inspect the fish in the lake." Then he steps aside a bit, and whistles through the hollow of his hands, thus calling his comrades, whom he tells how many fish there are in the lake. The Clowns with baskets slung over their shoulders and their uncouth rods in their hands now cautiously approach to surround the fish. They throw the ends of the line among the Fish, who tie vegetable produce to them. As soon as the Fish start a patter with their feet, the Clowns lift the rods aloft and collect the booty in their baskets for subsequent distribution in their lodge.

The Fish, however, disperse, grouping themselves once more on the plaza according to the six plaza groups, each spending the night at its appropriate station. On the following morning each group sends out one man to hunt, while the other members erect a little hut at the plaza site belonging to each group.

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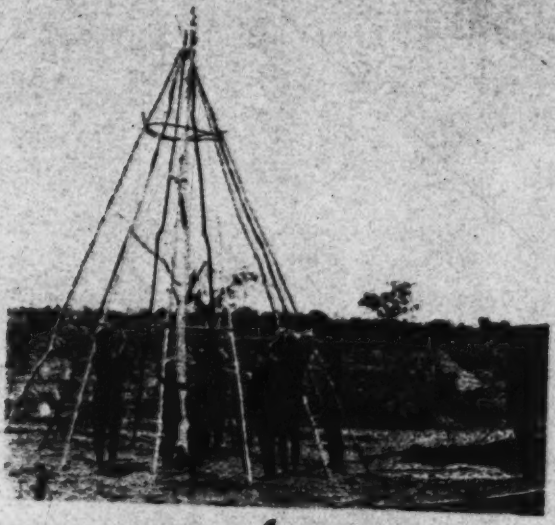

a

b

TEPYARKWÁ FESTIVE HUT OF FISH OTTERS